

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 NSA-01 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03
ACDA-07 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00
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/105 W

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R 181855Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5779
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 03115

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB GW US UK FR UR
SUBJ: DISCUSSION AT QUADRIpartite AMBASSADORIAL LUNCHEON
ON FEBRUARY 17.

1. THE AMBASSADORIAL LUNCHEON FEBRUARY 17 WAS HOSTED BY THE
BRITISH AMBASSADOR. STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOFF REPRESENT-
ED THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE. THE FOLLOWING ITEMS OF
INTEREST WERE TOUCHED ON.

2. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR MENTIONED THE U.S. SUGGESTION
THAT THE BONN GROUP UNDERTAKE A STUDY ON THE ECONOMIC
VIABILITY OF BERLIN. HE SAID HE HAD NO OFFICIAL POSI-
TION TO PRESENT REGARDING THIS PROPOSAL, ALTHOUGH HE
HAD SOME RESERVATIONS ABOUT IT; IT WAS REALLY FOR THE
FRG AND THE SENAT IN WEST BERLIN TO STUDY AND TAKE DECI-
SIONS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS CONCERNING WEST BERLIN AND HE
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QUESTIONED WHETHER THE ALLIES COULD PLAY A DIRECT ROLE
IN SUCH EFFORTS. MOREOVER, IF A STUDY OF THIS
KIND WERE TO BE UNDERTAKEN, IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO
RECEIVE MORE DETAILED FRG VIEWS AND INFORMATION. DEVEL-
OPING THIS POINT, WORMSER NOTED THAT, ALTHOUGH WE KNEW
FROM THE PRESS THAT THERE HAD BEEN AN SPD FRAKTION MEET-
ING IN BERLIN RECENTLY AT WHICH THE CHANCELLOR HAD

SPOKEN ABOUT ECONOMIC QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE CITY, THE THREE ALLIES HAD RECEIVED NO INFORMATION ABOUT HIS REMARKS. OTHER AREAS WHERE WE HAVE FAILED TO RECEIVE INFORMATION FROM THE FRG SIDE COULD BE CITED. WORMSER SAID ALL OF THIS LED HIM TO FEEL IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA IF THE "OLD HABIT" OF MORE DIRECT CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE THREE AMBASSADORS AND FRG OFFICIALS COULD BE REINSTITUTED SO THAT WE WOULD BE BETTER INFORMED OF OVERALL FRG AIMS.

3. GEHLHOFF RESPONDED FIRST TO THE QUESTION OF THE PROPOSED STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF BERLIN BY THE BONN GROUP. HE NOTED THAT ONE OF THE ESSENTIALS OF THE SURVIVABILITY OF FREE BERLIN IS THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS ECONOMIC VIABILITY; THEREFORE, THE FRG WELCOMES THE U.S. PROPOSAL. OBVIOUSLY, IT WOULD BE A COMPLICATED TASK OF A DIFFERENT NATURE FROM THOSE USUALLY UNDERTAKEN BY THE BONN GROUP AND IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT THE STUDY COULD BE FINISHED IN TIME FOR THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN MAY. GEHLHOFF THOUGHT THE NEXT STEP SHOULD BE A DISCUSSION IN THE BONN GROUP AS TO HOW THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE US PROPOSAL WOULD BE HANDLED. HE NOTED THAT CONSIDERATION WOULD HAVE TO BE GIVEN, ON THE GERMAN SIDE, TO INVITING OTHER MINISTRIES TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THE ECONOMIC VIABILITY OF BERLIN IS OF BASIC IMPORTANCE AND HE EXPRESSED SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE OF THE U.S. PROPOSAL. I REVIEWED THE RATIONALE FOR OUR PROPOSAL AND SAID THAT WE FELT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO HAVE SOMETHING READY FOR DISCUSSION BY THE QUADRIPARTITE

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GROUP AT THE TIME OF THE NATO MINISTERIAL IN MAY. THE THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR DID NOT COMMENT FURTHER.

4. GEHLHOFF THEN SPOKE OF AMBASSADOR WORMSER'S SUGGESTION ABOUT THE NEED FOR RECEIVING MORE INFORMATION FROM THE FRG SIDE. HE SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY AGREED THAT THIS WAS NECESSARY AND STATED THAT HE HAD SENT A LETTER TO STATE SECRETARY WISCHNEWSKI IN THE CHANCELLERY THE PREVIOUS DAY INDICATING THAT THE THREE ALLIED AMBASSADORS FELT THE NEED FOR MORE INFORMATION REGARDING FRG POLICY AND ASKING THAT WISCHNEWSKI TAKE APPROPRIATE STEPS TO SEE THAT THIS NEED WAS SATISFIED. GEHLHOFF WAS SURE THAT WISCHNEWSKI WOULD RESPOND FAVORABLY AND THAT HE WOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO INSTITUTE REGULAR MEETINGS WITH THE AMBASSADORS FOR DISCUSSION OF OVERALL FRG VIEWS AND POLICY CONCERNING BERLIN AND THE GDR. THE AMBASSADORS WELCOMED THIS PROSPECT; THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND I NOTED THAT MEETINGS WITH WISCHNEWSKI WOULD CONSTITUTE A USEFUL SUPPLEMENT TO THE WORK OF THE BONN

GROUP AND THAT WE CONSIDERED THE LATTER OF CONTINUING
IMPORTANCE.

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R 181855Z FEB 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
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INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
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5. GEHLHOFF THEN REFERRED TO THE NEGOTIATIONS PRESENTLY
TAKING PLACE BETWEEN THE EC AND THE SOVIET UNION ON
FISHING RIGHTS. HE SAID THAT, IN THE VIEW OF THE FRG,
AN AGREEMENT ON THIS SUBJECT MUST PROVIDE FOR INCLUSION
OF BERLIN AND THAT THE FRG WOULD BE DISCUSSING LATER IN
THE DAY IN THE BONN GROUP THE PROPOSALS THE FRG IS
CONSIDERING IN THIS CONNECTION (SEPTTEL). ACCORDING TO
GEHLHOFF, THE FRG FELT THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN SIMPLER
IF THE SOVIETS COULD JUST HAVE APPLIED FOR A LICENSE
AND HAVE RECEIVED IT WITHOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN A
FULL-FLEDGED NEGOTIATION. HOWEVER, SINCE THE LATTER
COURSE HAD BEEN ADOPTED, THERE WAS NO CHOICE BUT
TO HANDLE THE BERLIN QUESTION IN A SATISFACTORY WAY.
THERE WAS NO COMMENT FROM THE AMBASSADORS.

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6. GEHLHOFF NEXT REFERRED TO THE PROPOSED FRG ANSWER TO THE GDR MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATION IN EAST BERLIN. HE SAID THAT THE CHANCELLOR HAD MADE ONE SLIGHT CHANGE IN THE DRAFT WHICH HAD BEEN DISTRIBUTED EARLIER IN THE BONN GROUP AND THAT EXPERTS WOULD BE PROVIDED WITH THE REVISED VERSION.

7. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR REFERRED TO THE PROPOSED PANAM FLIGHTS FROM BERLIN TO ZURICH AND WONDERED IF THE SOVIET RESPONSE WOULD BE LIMITED TO PROTESTS. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AND I FELT THIS WOULD LIKELY BE THE CASE, ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS UNDOUBTEDLY WOULD FOLLOW THE PRACTICE IN THE BASC OF REFUSING TO GUARANTEE THE SAFETY OF SUCH FLIGHTS.

8. I THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE PROPOSED INTERFLUG FLIGHTS FROM SCHOENEFELD TO ZURICH AND THE FRG QUID PRO QUO OF OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS ENABLING LUFTHANSA TO STOP AT BERLIN TEGEL ON THE FRANKFURT-MOSCOW ROUTE. GEHLHOFF SAID THAT THERE WERE NO DISCUSSIONS IN PROGRESS WITH THE GDR ON THIS QUESTION AND HE DOUBTED VERY MUCH THAT THE GDR WOULD ACCEPT THE FRG QUID PRO QUO. WHEN THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ASKED IF THE IDEA WAS THAT LUFTHANSA WOULD TAKE ON PASSENGERS IN TEGEL FOR MOSCOW, GEHLHOFF MADE A LENGTHY EXPOSITION IN WHICH HE STRESSED THAT WEST BERLIN MUST BE ASSURED OF ITS ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AIR CONNECTIONS. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT SUCH CONNECTIONS NOT BE PROVIDED ONLY VIA SCHOENEFELD, WHICH SEEMS TO BE THE SOVIET AIM AND WHICH WOULD HAVE THE RESULT OF DRYING UP WEST BERLIN AS A CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AIR TRAVEL. IN THIS RESPECT, THE FRG IS INTERESTED IN HAVING OTHER WESTERN AIRLINES AT LEAST REQUEST OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS FOR LANDINGS AT TEGEL. THE QUESTION OF LUFTHANSA TAKING ON PASSENGERS IN BERLIN FOR MOSCOW IS NOT THE MAIN CONSIDERATION IN THE FRG VIEW. RATHER, THE IDEA IS TO

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SECURE THE POSITION OF WEST BERLIN WITH REGARD TO INTERNATIONAL AIR TRAVEL. GEHLHOFF COULD UNDERSTAND THAT SOME PROBLEMS MIGHT ARISE WITH REGARD TO COMPETITION BETWEEN LUFTHANSA AND PANAM OR OTHER CARRIERS BUT HE SAID THIS WAS NOT THE MAIN CONCERN. WHEN WORMSER ASKED IF THE BALL WAS NOW IN THE GDR COURT REGARDING THE INTERFLUG SERVICE TO ZURICH, GEHLHOFF RESPONDED AFFIRM-

ATIVELY.

9. QUESTIONED ABOUT THE STATUS OF NEGOTIATIONS CONCERN-
ING BERLIN QUESTIONS SUCH AS THE TELTOW CANAL, SPANDAU
LOCK AND DUCKBILL, GEHLHOFF SAID ABSOLUTELY NOTHING WAS

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GOING ON IN THIS CONNECTION. HE SAID HE WAS UNABLE TO
SPECULATE ABOUT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS REGARDING THESE
NEGOTIATIONS.

10. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR QUESTIONED THE BRITISH
AMBASSADOR CONCERNING HIS INTERPRETATION OF ABRASIMOV'S
REMARKS DURING THE RECENT UK-SOVIET LUNCHEON IN BERLIN
TO THE EFFECT THAT THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE NO RIGHTS
IN BERLIN BUT ONLY RESPONSIBILITIES. AMBASSADOR WRIGHT
SAID HE DOUBTED THAT ABRASIMOV'S REMARKS HAD BEEN CARE-
FULLY CALCULATED IN ADVANCE OR REPRESENTED A NEW POLICY
LINE. WRIGHT HAD HAD THE FEELING THAT ABRASIMOV HAD
BLURTED THE PHRASE OUT, AND THAT THE THOUGHT MIGHT

REPRESENT WHAT ABRASIMOV PERSONALLY WOULD CONSIDER AS
AN IDEAL END RESULT; HOWEVER, ABRASIMOV SUBSEQUENTLY HAD
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RETRACTED THESE REMARKS IN EFFECT AND HAD RECOGNIZED
THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES DID INDEED HAVE RIGHTS (SUCH AS
FOR ACCESS) AND THEN HAD PROCEEDED TO CRITICIZE
THE MANNER OF EXERCISING THESE RIGHTS.

11. THERE FOLLOWED A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE
MOTIVATIONS BEHIND THE RECENT INTENSIFICATION
OF GDR AND SOVIET COMMENTS STRESSING THE INTEGRATION OF
EAST BERLIN INTO THE GDR AND ALLEGING THAT THE QUADRI-
PARTITE AGREEMENT WAS APPLICABLE ONLY TO THE WESTERN
SECTORS. THERE SEEMED TO BE A CONSENSUS THAT THIS RE-
PRESENTED IN LARGE PART A DEFENSIVE REACTION BY THE
SOVIET UNION AND THE GDR WHICH COULD BE RELATED TO THE
PERCEPTION BY THE SOVIETS THAT THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREE-
MENT IN FACT HAD WORKED AGAINST THEIR POLICY OBJECTIVES
IN REGARD TO BERLIN AND THE TIES BETWEEN WEST BERLIN
AND THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. FURTHERMORE, SOVIET AND GDR
CONCERNS NO DOUBT WERE HEIGHTENED BY DEVELOPMENTS SINCE
HELSINKI WHICH HAVE ENCOURAGED GDR CITIZENS TO PRESS FOR
FULFILLMENT OF BASKET 3 UNDER THE HELSINKI FINAL
ACT. SUMMING UP, AMBASSADOR WRIGHT EXPRESSED THE VIEW
THAT ONE COULD EVALUATE RECENT SOVIET AND GDR ACTIONS
WITH REGARD TO BERLIN AS REFLECTIONS OF THE SUCCESS OF
WESTERN POLICIES.

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